DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 318 817 UD 027 389

AUTHOR Krasnow, Jean
TITLE Building Parent-Teacher Partnerships. Prospects from the Perspective of the Schools Reaching Out Project.
INSTITUTION Institute for Responsive Education, Boston, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY Boston Globe Foundation, MA.; J.M. Foundation, New York, N.Y.; John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Chicago, IL.; Leon Lowenstein Foundation, New York, NY.
PUB DATE Jan 90
NOTE 66p.; Also sponsored by the Aaron Diamond Foundation.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cooperative Programs; *Demonstration Programs; *Educational Improvement; Elementary Education; *Family School Relationship; Low Income Groups; *Parent Participation; Program Descriptions; *School Community Relationship; *Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS *Collaboratives

ABSTRACT

The Schools Reaching Out project attempts to demonstrate that urban public schools can improve their students' academic and social success by fundamentally changing their relationship with low-income parents and their communities. The project began in 1988 with two elementary schools in Boston and New York serving as laboratory schools. The following themes form the basis of the program: (1) a blend of good theory and practice can help schools improve; (2) school reform requires changes in teachers, administrators, families, communities, and social service agencies; (3) all children can learn and achieve social and academic success through collaborative effort; (4) efforts to improve families and teachers should build on their strengths; and (5) organizational change in schools is best seen as a slow, developmental collaborative process by all individuals involved. The following challenges to program implementation are discussed: (1) the structure and time constraints in schools make collaborative inquiry, reflection, and participatory planning difficult to achieve; (2) isolation of teachers from other teachers, teachers from administrators, and teachers and administrators from families and other parts of the community are "school traditions" and "mind sets" that are difficult to overcome; (3) urban families face multiple economic and social problems; (4) many urban families fear schools and educators and resist efforts to have them conform to many of the traditional forms of parent involvement; and (5) many educators and parents do not see the connection between school-family-community collaboration and improving academic and social success. A list of 115 references is appended. (FMW)

ED318817

Building Parent-Teacher Partnerships

Prospects from the Perspective of the Schools Reaching Out Project

by Jean Krasnow

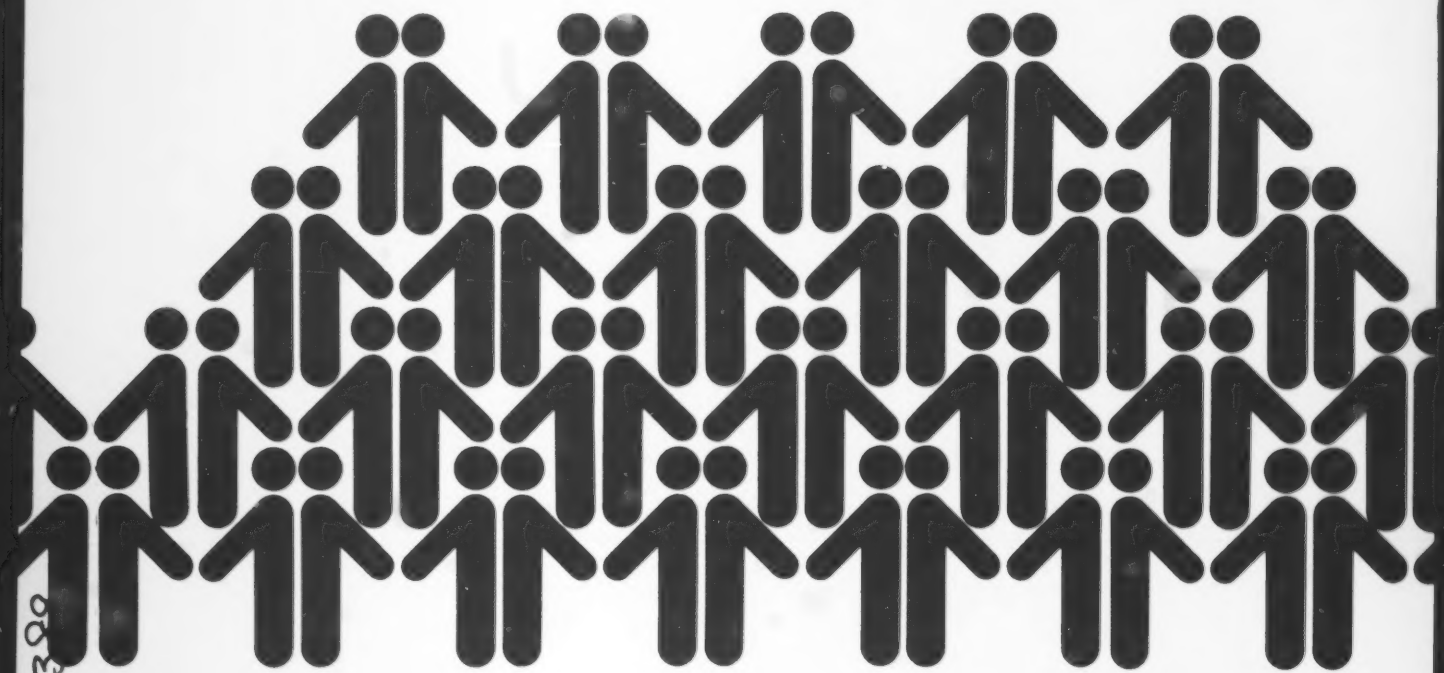
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
R. DeCarlo
Inst. for Responsive Education
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."



UD 027 392

Institute for Responsive Education
605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215
Telephone: (617) 353-3309

BUILDING PARENT-TEACHER PARTNERSHIPS
Prospects from the Perspective of the Schools Reaching Out Project

by Jean Krasnow

January 1990

Schools Reaching Out is a project which attempts to demonstrate that urban public schools can fundamentally change their relationship with low-income parents and their communities, and in so doing, move closer to the goal of academic and social success for all children.

The project began in September 1988 as two schools -- the David A. Ellis School in Boston and P.S. 111, the Ochs School in New York City -- agreed to collaborate with the Institute for Responsive Education as "laboratory schools" trying out strategies to build new relationships with parents and the community.

Schools Reaching Out was designed to interweave research and practice. While the laboratory schools work, aided by IRE staff, to refine new strategies, a team of researchers is investigating questions of what works and why -- again, in collaboration with the schools' staff. This publication, and the series of which it is a part, is an effort to relate some of those learnings.

For more information on Schools Reaching Out or the series of publications, write to: Institute for Responsive Education, 605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215.

Schools Reaching Out is funded by the Boston Globe Foundation, the Aaron Diamond Foundation, the J.M. Foundation, the Leon Lowenstein Foundation, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

PREFACE

This is the first of many publications from the Institute for Responsive Education's Schools Reaching Out project. It is the first because it is designed to be a road map to some of the most important ideas, books, writers and researchers which provide a foundation for the project.

Author Jean Krasnow is one of the senior researchers for the project. Her special role has been to organize and lead a team of teachers in the project's two pilot schools -- the David A. Ellis in the Roxbury section of Boston and P.S. 111 on West 53rd Street in New York City's District 2. She has spent many hours in the schools listening to and working with teachers and parents and the people in the schools have worked to try a wide variety of ways to form new connections between the school, its families, and the community.

I think the publication is strong and useful because the author understands and reflects the project's ethos and its reality -- the spirit that it strives for and the practical challenges its faces. She knows the relevant literature and theory, but she also knows the realities of life in public schools. This should make the publication useful to teachers, administrators, parents, project directors who are thinking about and working on how to make school-family-community collaboration work or researchers who are trying to understand the issues involved.

I want to point briefly to five themes that are captured in one way or another in this report that I also see as central to the spirit with which IRE has attempted to undertake the project:

- Good theory and good practice are not at war. A blend of the two, however difficult to achieve, can help schools improve.

- School reform requires changes in teachers, administrators, families, communities, and social service agencies -- all important parts of the urban child's world. Blaming one part at the expense of the others defeats progress.

- All children can learn and achieve social and academic success. Only through collaborative efforts can such a seemingly radical goal be achieved.

- All families have strengths as well as problems. The same is true of teachers. Efforts to help parents or teachers learn and develop should build on these strengths.

- Organizational change in schools is best seen as a process of "collaborative inquiry" by all the individuals involved. For schools to change internally and in their ability to share the responsibility for children's development with families and communities, the individuals must become more reflective and more connected to one another. School reform should be seen as a slow, collaborative developmental process.

There are many challenges which we have faced as we have implemented the Schools Reaching Out project. Five of these challenges are nicely reflected in Jean Krasnow's work:

- The structure and time constraints in schools make collaborative inquiry, reflection, and participatory planning difficult to achieve.

- Isolation of teachers from other teachers, teachers from administrators, and teachers and administrators from families and other parts of the community are "school traditions" and "mind-sets" that are difficult to overcome.

- Urban families face multiple problems -- time, energy, lack of money, inadequate housing and community supports, family relations, innumerable social problems, and barriers related to race, class, culture, and language.

- Many urban families fear schools and educators and resist efforts to have them conform to many of the traditional forms of "parent involvement." Special outreach, many trust-building activities, and offering ways to participate away from the school are needed.

- Many educators and many parents do not see the connection between school-family-community collaboration and improving academic and social success. For many, parent and

community involvement is a frill not connected to the mainstream of school reform.

We invite our reader reactions to this first report from Schools Reaching Out. The project itself seeks to employ "double-loop learning" and learn from its own errors and successes.

I hope this work wins many readers because it has many useful ideas which are grounded both in good research and front-line practice. Its virtue is not that the author thinks she has discovered ultimate truths but that her inquiry will spur others to inquire as well.

Don Davies
President
Institute for Responsive Education

Introduction

The school day is always rushed. Immediate demands never let up. As one day ends, the papers pile up and the question of the next day's lesson looms.

Can any new program, regardless of its merit, be added on to what is already so crammed a schedule? As everyone says, there is no time.

Yet time is everything. It is one of the school's most important resources. It defines the "operational functions of schools and classrooms...student program status, curriculum, teacher assignment, school organization, teacher working relationships, learning opportunities, credit and promotion and a host of other factors that impose a striking uniformity on the way business is carried on in schools despite the diversity of students and programs within them." (Goodlad 1983, Sizer 1983) Time is seldom seen as a flexible resource to accomplish instructional goals. More often, it is a scarce commodity, noticed only because there is never enough.

In the thirteen months since the Schools Reaching Out project began, the project and school staffs have continually struggled with the issue of time. How could a project whose goal is to help the

school be successful with all children by increasing the involvement of parents and community resources in the educational life of the children not take time away from all the other goals and lessons to be taught? How could it fit into those already busy days? The lives of teachers are hurried, as are those of the parents the project is trying to reach. There are many demands, many pressures, and few quiet, reflective spaces. Rethinking how schools think about and use time has become a major theme of the project's learning because to design schools as partnerships between parents, teachers and the community, and to think about shared responsibility for children's learning is to suggest a radical shift in the planning and work patterns of a school. Past practices are the deep regularities of decades of operation. They are not easily altered and they are not changed by individuals working alone against the clock in the typical pattern of classroom teaching. It is a strange and sad irony of public education that it is done in isolation by individuals behind closed doors.

To achieve the goals of the Schools Reaching Out project, opportunities for collaboration must be built into the school day,

groups must be given flexible resources in order to experiment and learn, must be nurtured by a supportive and empowering administration, and must be rewarded for small wins along the way. What follows is a discussion of some of the research upon which the Schools Reaching Out project has based its efforts to introduce and encourage the development of a parent-teacher-community partnership in the two project laboratory schools. In each of three areas, I will review some themes from the research literature and then show how those ideas are being incorporated into the life of these schools.

Parent Participation and Student Academic Success

Over two decades of social science research has established a strong connection between parent involvement and children's social and academic achievement. When parents are involved "children do better in school and go to better schools" (Henderson, 1987). In addition, research has shown that parents' attitudes toward involvement and their level of participation can change. Given direction and encouragement parents can increase and enhance their involvement. Such participation affects parents as well as children, positively affecting their view of the significance of parenting and increasing the likelihood of their participation in other civic activitites. Parent involvement affects teachers, too. Teachers who work directly and frequently with parents have different attitudes about parents regardless of parent's income category from teachers who do not. Teacher behavior also can change with appropriate interventions. When parents are fully involved in the daily life and decision making processes within schools, the schools change. When parents are seen as partners in the education of their children, the debiliating effects of bureaucracy are reduced, more connected

teaching occurs, and student achievement is increased.

Home and family variables have long been recognized as important predictors of student achievement. "The fact that family socioeconomic status is related to school achievement doesn't mean that rich kids are born smarter . It means that, in more affluent families, children are more likely to be exposed to experience that stimulate intellectual development." (Sattes, 1985) Clearly, all parents communiate important values about school and learning to their children. These determine and shape a child's view of learning. Closer family-school connections, shared values, and mutual respect can positively influence school success.

A very strong claim on the benefits of parent involvement comes from the evaluation of pre-school programs particularly Head Start where the program variable that contributed most to improved school achievement was parent involvement (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The Perry Pre-School Program demonstrated better grades, fewer failures, fewer absences and fewer special education placements during public school years for those children whose parents had been involved in a weekly home visitor program in addition to the

preschool program than for those children not involved. A change in the home environment which supports student achievement occurs as parents become more familiar with program expectations and the importance of their role as supportive parents.

Research has also documented the positive effects of parent involvement across all grade levels. Some programs involve parents as tutors while others help parents play a generally supportive role. Programs need not be extensive or costly to be successful: "brief, simple instructions were enough for parents to run fairly elaborate programs" (Barth, 1979). In a program in England, teachers sent home books to parents and asked that children read to them 2-4 times per week. Teachers also sent home notes of encouragement to the parents for their efforts. Results reported showed "highly significant gains in achievement" even greater than the progress made by students who had school-based help from a tutor (Tizard, 1982). In a Chicago program, 99% of the parents in 41 classes involving 826 students signed a contract to provide a work space at home for their child, to encourage and praise school work and to cooperate with the teacher to provide the items needed for school work. Students in the program achieved twice the grade level gain as

those not participating (Walberg, 1980). One of the most straightforward programs is produced by the Home and School Institute and consists of simple, teacher-designed, learning activities for the home. When the project began, a letter of explanation was sent home to parents and then for 16 weeks thereafter, one sheet of paper, "a recipe", with instructions was sent. The experimental group achieved statistically higher scores in reading than the control group; the predominantly African-American classes scored significantly higher in both reading and math (Henderson, 1987). Studies of the Follow Through Programs (Olmsted, 1982), and literature reviews on the effects of parent involvement (Gordon, 1978, Henderson, 1981 and 1987, Sattes, 1985) conclude that children whose parents are directly involved in their children's education over a period of years simply achieve more.

Why? Parent involvement correlates with school achievement but does it cause it and if so, how ? Several authors of the studies on parent involvement have discussed what they think goes on within the family as parents become more involved. Process variables relating to student achievement such as high expectations, frequent

conversations, the willingness to try to teach as well as be a parent (Becher, 1984) have been identified as possible explanations. In a study of family life and school achievement (Clark, 1983)suggests that the overall cultural style of a family, not its martial status, or previous education level determines achievement. Clark finds the family characteristics traditionally used in educational research (income, mother's education level) as inadequate explanations for achievement. Instead, he finds achievement related to frequent dialogue, strong encouragement, limit setting, and a nurturing climate which he labels "sponsored independence." And, more changes than achievement scores. "If parents become involved in school activities, not only will their own attitudes improve, but their children's attitudes and achievement will likewise improve" (Sattes, 1985).

They become more familiar with the school, its expectations and goals, they develop more positive attitudes about school. Parents involved in the "Cooperative Communication Between Home and School" program (Hamilton and Cochran, l988) expressed positive and statistically significant feelings about visiting the school,

perceived ability to talk with the teacher about an unhappy child, and ability to get in touch with a teacher when needed. A number of parents explained how the project helped them to understand the role of the teacher, take more initiative in pursuing questions relating to their child, and "personal circumstances they had previously perceived as communication barriers were no longer foremost in post-program interviews" (Hamilton, and Cochran, 1988).

Often, the attitudes of parents toward school are rooted in their own school experience. They see that experience repeated in their children. Those who failed or did poorly in school have, as parents, very little contact with the school. Previous attempts to engage more parent participation have often increased the participation of middle-class parents and risk increasing the gap between low and middle-income children (Davies, 1987). If parent participation is to be used as one aspect of a broad effort to increase school achievement for all children, then a geniune commitment and willingness to work with all parents must permeate program efforts.

All parents express a strong interest in their children's education. They say they would like to be more involved at school or at home helping their children but they don't know how or what to do. School personnel often describe parents as "hard to reach". Teachers have somewhat "fixed ideas about what constitutes a good family and proper child rearing" (Davies, 1988 a & b) and sometimes middle-class expectations run counter to the behavior often exhibited by working-class and poor children as they begin school. Annette Lareau's study discusses the concept of "cultural capital" to explain the pervasive absence of working class and poor parents from the schools (Lareau, 1985). She studied two elementary schools in terms of parent involvement both in the classroom and in the school. In one school, most of the parents were middle-class; in the other, most were working-class. Middle class families demonstrated more "validated cultural capital" the behaviors, attitudes, and orientations most smiliar to those of the teachers. Teachers feel more comfortable and know what to expect from children with the "right stuff", behaviors that they value and recognize. Working-class parents want their children to succeed in school, but they have limited knowledge about school procedures, styles, and expectations.

They feel less welcomed and, in fact, many teachers and administrators use a deficit model in thinking about these parents, describing them as hard to reach and apathetic. Lareau suggests that until schools recognize their own attitudes and behaviors as one source of the separation between families and the schools it will be difficult to bring all parents into the schools.

There are many family forms that exist and they are all legitimate; "there is no single pattern that determines healthy child and family development" (Cochran, 1987) . Cochran argues that all families have strengths, and that the idea of empowering all families should replace the current search for deficiencies and attitudes of remediation often expressed by school personnel toward families.

In the first year of the Schools Reaching Out project, both schools asked parents how they would like to be involved in the school and what types of activities they would like to see offered to parents by the schools. Such interest surveys are critical. The IRE/Fordham University study of the New York City Parent Involvement Program (Jackson, 1988) clearly demonstrated that the needs and interests of parents are usually a better starting point than the school's

agenda when beginning parent involvement projects. When the school offers many different sorts of activities, parents can enter the school world in a way that is most comfortable or most interesting for them. Both the New York study and the laboratory schools' experience have shown that activities with a social dimension bring parents and teachers together in new settings and help change attitudes and improve understandings. They are more comfortable that purely school-related activities. In 1989-90 in the laboratory schools, parents volunteered in classrooms, went on field trips to local sites of interest, attended ESL classes and evening meetings about community safety and landlord-tenant issues. Parents were invited to attend dinners sponsored by the project to explain and promote the parents role in the education of children, they organized a multicultural pot luck supper, visited the school during open house week, and attended workshops on helping children with their school work. From these experiences, IRE and SRO have developed the following guidelines for involving parents at the school:

1. Ask parents what they would be interested in doing. Take risks. Think creatively.
2. Make events as participatory as possible. People like to be involved, make things, go places, and generally be active.
3. Choose many different times to schedule events.
4. Don't expect everyone at every event. People will choose what works for them.
5. Reward participation. Show parents that their efforts are respected and appreciated.
6. Schedule events that involve children's performances. Parent attendance is usually higher at these sorts of events.
7. Keep a record of events. Take pictures. Make displays and raise expectations for further parent involvement.
8. Continue to offer easy access programs even after a leadership group has emerged. Always welcome new faces.

Direct involvement in activities at the school has many positive benefits but is simply not feasible for many parents. Reflecting on this and on the research which demonstrates the positive effects of involving parents and children learning at home, the two laboratory

schools have decided to focus on developing materials for parents to use at home with their children. Surveys of parents indicated that this is a high priority for them. Throughout the 1989-90 school year, project personnel and teachers will be working together to collect published materials and develop their own materials for parents. The intention is to provide brief, easy-to-do activities which enhance reading and math development. Home visitors have been hired by the project. They are parents of children at the schools. They will visit parents at home, discuss school and family issues as the family choses and provide materials for parents to use at home with their children.

Reaching out and providing materials for all parents is one critical step that parents have asked for and that will help children in school-related activities. However, successful models of parent involvement do more than bring the school into the home, they also bring the home into the classroom. The partnership philosophy of the project encourages activities which incorporate family issues, experiences, and cultural traditions into the school curriculum. One-way transmission of information from the school to the home runs the risk of continuing a deficit attitude toward families. Activities

both in the school and suggested for home use must reflect an inclusive strategy. The cultural norms, traditions and issues within the home have a place in the classroom.

Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors Concerning Parent Participation

Parents and teachers seem to know intuitively what the research has demonstrated about the benefits of parent involvement. But "interest far surpasses actual practice." (Sattes, 1985) Parents' attitudes can change but they are not likely to without intervention. Teachers also respond to expectations. Principals and district administrators need to set clear and high expectations for parent involvement. Mandates help but they are not sufficient. Parents are interested but they await direction and guidance. In the middle, and quite central to the development of parent involvement in any school, are classroom teachers.

Teachers, like family members, are key elements in the social world of the child. They cannot, alone, be expected to change what has been called a child's "master setting" (DeLone, 1979). Yet they have enormous influence on the social and academic development as well as cognitive achievement of a child, influence often much greater than they realize. "Each of us is a relationally defined entity

and not a totally autonomous agent. Our goodness and our wickedness are both, at least in part, induced, supported, enhanced or diminished by the interventions and influences of those with whom we are related" (Noddings, 1988 a & b). Teaching is filled with potential interventions. Connected teaching which brings families and schools together can empower both sides of the partnership. And both sides are critical. The Harvard Study cited by Auerbach supports the view that school factors account as much as home factors for the acquisition of literacy. The researchers found that in the early grades, "either literate, stimulating homes, or demanding, enriching classrooms can make good readers" (Auerbach, 1989). However, "while strong parental factors could compensate for weak schooling up to grade three, even those children with positive home literacy environments fell back after this point if school practices are deficient" (Auerbach, 1989). Home and school practices must both be positive for academic achievement throughout the school years.

How do some teachers manage the critical connections between family and school life in ways that enhance children's learning? As the school's emissary to the community, it is the teachers who see

the children each day and who perhaps could build closer connections between the families and the school.

It is often assumed that less well-educated parents do not want to become involved in their children's education. Research challenging this generalization argues that it is the attitude of teachers, not the socioeconomic or marital status of parents that determines involvement. (Becker and Epstein, 1982, Epstein, 1988) Epstein found that general guidance and modest efforts directed to the parents had significant results. Her initial research examined a wide cross-section of schools. In a 1980 survey of 3,700 elementary school teachers in 600 schools, Epstein found that 95% of the teachers say they talk with children's parents, sent notices home, and interact with parents on open school nights, 90% ask parents to check students' homework, and 80% conduct three or more parent conferences each year. While teachers think that more parent involvement would help to improve student achievement, they report that they don't know how to initiate or accomplish such a program and have reservations about whether or not teachers could motivate parents (who would not normally do so) to take the time to provide

informal learning opportunitites at home. (Epstein, 1982) The survey results showed that teachers make tentative requests for parent involvement (only 9% require it), that teachers say they can provide ideas but have no control over their use, and that only 33% of the teachers think that parents would come to meetings. Teachers ask only some parents to help at home: a parent whose child is doing well in school receives about one-third fewer contacts than one whose child is having difficulty. Becker and Epstein conclude that parent involvement is not perceived as indispensable to satisfactory teaching.

In this and other studies, Epstein has identified critical elements in teacher attitudes and behaviors toward parents. Teachers who use a variety of methods to involve parents believe positive involvement is possible for parents of all education and income levels. Teachers who do not make efforts to engage parents respond to questions about the likelihood of success according to the education levels of the parents. They choose not to involve well-educated parents because such involvement isn't perceived as critical but choose not to involve poorly educated parents because they do not see these parents as capable or willing to assist. "Thus, whether parents

with little schooling are viewed by the teacher as capable of assisting their children in reading at home may depend on whether the teacher has worked out procedures and communication patterns that would enable parents with little schooling to assist." (Epstein, 1982). Some of the procedures mentioned as most successful included asking parents to read to their children at home, sending home weekly work folders for review and signature, talking by phone, preparing easy-to-use materials for the parents, and visiting parents prior to the start of school year. Teachers most likely to use these techniques stress the importance of having positive contact established with a family before any difficult situations arise. Teachers who have parent volunteers in their classrooms experience this postive contact and are more likely to try additional efforts to increase parent involvement at home. In general, teacher support for parent involvement is positively coorelated with the proportion of parents who are active in the school. (Epstein, 1983).

In a recent study of eight inner city schools, Epstein questioned over 171 teachers about their parent involvement strategies in five

areas (school support for families, family/school communication, family support for schools, family involvement in learning at home, family involvement in school decision-making). Teachers express positive attitudes about parent involvement and their attitudes are better where principals and colleagues also support the concept. But the greater the perceived discrepancy between the teachers and the other key groups in the school environment, the less likely there will be a strong program of parent involvement. Greatest discrepancies occur in schools with more students of below average achievement, more departmentalized programs and hierarchical structure, and where teachers know few parents. Epstein concludes that "if teacher believe parents are not interested in becoming involved with their children's schools, teachers probably make fewer efforts to contact, inform, and work with parents.... More coherent programs are linked to less discrepant environments where teachers see themselves as strong and similar to their school colleagues and to the parent community" (Epstein, 1988). Without a school's active assistance, parent activity to help children succeed is heavily dependent on parent's social class or previous education.

Despite this somewhat discouraging data, "our research suggests that this (situation) can be changed by good teaching practices in parent involvement" (Scott-Jones and Epstein, 1988). Information about family structures, family processes, parental roles in education, and working effectively with parents are not part of most pre-service or in-service teacher training programs. Only 15% of teachers surveyed in the Epstein research had completed a course in parent involvement. Parents are usually portrayed in mainly negative terms, as problems, not partners (Williams and Chavkin, 1985). Thoughtful in-service, similar to the Home School Communication model offered by the Cornell Family Matters Project, offers an opportunity for parents and teachers to work together and develop an understanding for each other's role.

Additional research has reviewed the status of teacher training in the area of parent involvement and has provided pre-service and in-service models (Williams and Chavkin, 1985; Williams and Stallworth, 1982; McAfee, 1987). In data collected in a five year study of teachers, parents, principals, and teacher educators conducted by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory,

Williams and Chavkin found that although parent involvement was strongly supported, additional training was necessary: "beyond indicating a need for such involvement, very little has been written about effective ways to train teachers to involve parents in the education process" (Williams and Chavkin, 1985).

Many teachers see parent involvement as an added demand on their time whose return is questionable. They also express concern that they do not have the knowledge and competencies needed to work with parents. As an outgrowth of the survey, the authors produced guidelines and strategies for teacher training based on the premise that "parents are equally important to a child's academic success as are the teachers". They suggest three essential components of an ideal training program: an understanding of the personal framework of the teacher, an understanding of the effective models of parent involvement, and the development of a conceptual framework based on theoretical and research material concerning the developmental nature of parent involvement in schools. They identified knowledge, understanding, and skills needed by teachers that should be included in each of these frameworks and suggest that schools adapt the guidelines to their individual needs.

A survey by the Appalachia Educational Laboratory confirmed many of Southwest's findings. Teachers have not had training in parent involvement, they feel they need it and they are somewhat skeptical of the results to be achieved from increased efforts to involve parents (McAfee, 1987). An important contribution of McAfee's work is to place teacher training within the overall field of adult education. Adults who deal easily with difficult and abstract ideas in their own field may need to start at a very basic level to learn something new, especially something which can be threatening to the routines through which they currently conduct their work. The more unpredictable and ambiguous the setting in which to try out new skills, the more difficult is the transition to a new skill (McAfee, 1987). Teachers, in inner city settings, with limited training in parent involvement, who see themselves as quite different from the parents of the children they teach, do not face an easy transition to new behaviors.

A key part of the Schools Reaching Out strategy is to involve classroom teachers as change agents and resource people in the schools in order to increase family-school-community linkages. Four

teachers in each school make up the school's Teacher Research Team. These teams received training in the spring of 1989 and have surveyed the faculty in each school to determine their attitudes, suggestions, and current practices regarding parent involvement. Teams will design projects to increase parent involvement at the school and at home-based on the data collected during the interviews and on their own needs as classroom teachers. In addition, individual team members will keep journals and record their own behaviors and attitudes as participants in the second year of SRO. These teams meet regularly with a researcher from IRE (the author of this paper) who is also keeping a journal of the year's activities. The data from the interviews, journals, and team meetings will be reviewed by the team members and analyzed to answer the questions of how teachers think about parent participation in children's education, what efforts they make to develop linkages between schools, families and communities, what appear to be the key elements of successful strategies, what barriers they face, and how these relationships evolve.

Study seminars and research in action reports comprise a second strategy for involving teachers. Teachers and parents will be offered the opportunity to read a selection of articles on the topic of family involvement in schools and participate in discussions about the articles and their applicability to the laboratory schools. Research in Action reports will be distributed every two weeks to the teachers. They provide a one-page summary of major research in the area of parent and community involvement in schools and will help to familiarize teachers with the rather extensive and growing literature on parent involvement.

The focus of the Schools Reaching Out project is enhancing connections between the family, schools, and communities in order to promote social and academic success for all children. The schools need the involvement of parents in their children's education. Participatory research is another version of this partnership concept. The research, a partnership between teachers and an outside researcher, may offer an opportunity for the empowerment of both parties. For the practititioners, the partnership gives voice to those who rarely get a chance to enter the public conversations about schooling, schools, and particularly the direction that school

reform efforts should take. The selection of participatory research to assess the impact of the project on the faculty and its attitudes and practices with regard to parent participation in these urban elementary schools is intended as an effort to create reflective space in the life of a teacher and to engage faculty members in thinking about the conceptual framework of the project, the design of the research, and the analysis of the data. It provides an opportunity to reflect on their experience and the experience of their colleagues as they try out new behaviors, ideas and patterns of thinking. An underlying theme throughout this research effort is that of teacher empowerment and the development of "voice". As the project seeks to empower parents, this research opportunity reflects that effort by providing an opportunity for teachers to increase their control and decision making over events and conditions of their work life.

SRO is being implemented for the children. But the principal agent of change is the teacher. Expanding the repertoire of skills, and behaviors, affecting attitudes, and building those new thoughts into the culture and daily operation of the school can only be done with teachers, not to them. So SRO has chosen to make them central

to the overall efforts of the project, and key elements in the research and evaluation of the project.

For the researcher, the selection of a participatory model reflects the partnership concept of the Schools Reaching Out project and the complex nature of the project itself. Some past research on schools has been labelled a "conversation often critical, cynical, marked by a search for pathology" (Lightfoot, 1986). The effect has been too often to "make the teachers and students objects of research" rather than "to choose problems of interest and concern to researchers, teachers, and students" (Noddings, 1986). In contrast to this orientation, in a participatory model the "subject" becomes a knower "whose grasp of the world may be enlarged by the work of the researcher". In turn, the researcher may "learn the answers to questions that [I] would not even have had the sense to ask" (Whyte, 1981).

School Organization and School Reform

> "You cannot alter the purposes, bias, and actual functioning of schools without at the same time changing radically the structure through which they are organized and controlled. Forms of organizational structure are not and cannot be neutral." (Comer, 1980)

James Comer, in describing his work in the New Haven schools, emphasizes that often the behavior of a child is the result of the school climate and environment in which the child is required to function (Comer, 1980). The literature about teachers, their world, and their work is another variation of this same theme. The ecology of the school has a profound effect on the sense of control, empowerment, and motivation of teachers. Creating schools that are positive learning environments for children may have to start with the creation of positive work environments for teachers.

There is an extensive literature on the history of American education and the development of the forms of schools organization we see today. There is also widespread criticism and concern for the failure of these instititutions to provide a quality education for all youth. The need for reform in public education "has become increas-

ingly apparent to anyone familiar with the litany of statistics on dropouts, youth unemployment, declining aptitude scores, and inadequate language skills" (Seeley, 1988). Many would agree that the "massive, once unsurpassed system of publicly administered schools is failing students, their families, and communities". (Seeley, 1981) We have reached the point where the structure and operation of many of our schools now belies the American rhethoric of social mobility through education achievement.

Many schools are not good environments for learning because the schools have become bureaucracies and bureaucratic organizations are not designed to promote inquiry. The isolated, cellular structure of the classroom practice, the hierarchical and limited role definition which is reflected both in teacher assignments and in the student tracking system, and the inward-looking nature of the organization all work to impede the development of the relationships and creativity so critical to learning.

Bureaucratic hierarchy has increases external controls, centralizes rules, mandates procedures and in the process often creates a "staff that is demoralized and clients that are disaffected" (Seeley, 1988). Some historians would argue that

American schools today are no different than they have always been. Michael Katz presents this argument in Race, Class,and Bureaucracy in American Schools, as he discusses the evolution of a system whose intention, he says, was to appear to create mobility while at the same time perpetuate the social class divisions of emerging capitalism. The model chosen was bureaucracy because it could be argued that it was impersonal and fair while at the same time embodying the middle class values and class privileges of its creators. Katz is extremely harsh in his analysis. Poor children become poor adults, he says, and that is just what the idea was. In her book Keeping Track: How Our Schools Structure Inequality , Jeanne Oakes makes a thorough analysis of the data from the Goodlad study, A Place Called School, and finds similar bias against low income students. With vast numbers of "unschooled" immigrant children arriving in America, the widespread acceptance of Social Darwinism, and the increased perception of the need for social control, tracking become a way of providing the appropriate education for these children of "limited potential". Yet, tracking which began as a pragmatic response to shifts in immigration has

become a central pillar of our educational system. In urban schools, or in prestigeous suburban ones, we find minority and lower income students in lower tracks in greater disproportionate numbers. The Oakes study looked in depth at what was taught, what was expected as work products, and what was offered as counseling and mentoring to students in lower tracks. She concludes that those students most in need of nurturing, positive relationships with adults are the least likely to receive it. Tracking creates vastly different school experiences and opportunities within a school system. I mention it here, although briefly, because it reflects in the life of the student, the hierarchical and segmented attitude expressed by bureaucracy toward all members of the organization, an attitude particularly widespread in large, urban systems.

Bureaucracy with its emphasis on economy, efficiency, and standardization seemed the most practical way to solve the problems of rapidly growing urban school systems. Replication of schools was simple; detailed procedures, prescribed content, and a poorly paid, largely female work force controlled by a few administrators. Multiple self-contained classrooms minimized the impact of high teacher turnover and limited training. As schools

grew previously separated classrooms were simply collected together in cellular arrangement. No task interdependence developed among teachers, the one room school continued: teachers now taught all one age or all one subject. Whatever they taught, they taught alone (Lortie, 1975).

Standardization and interchangeable parts suited large scale industrial production but did not advance personally empowering relationships between teachers and students. Learning is not a mechanistic, even purely cognitive process. It grows out of a relationship between the teacher and the student, between the school and the community it serves. Studies of at-risk students in alternative school settings (Raywid, 1985), Catholic high schools (Coleman, 1987), and in effective high schools (Dornbush, 1988) all point to the centrality of relationships to motivation. Lack of motivation "is often not a characteristic of the child but a direct result of inflexible, non-responsive bureaucratic relationships" (Seeley, 1985).

A bureaucratic organizational form tends to become very inward looking, seeking to regularize routines and classifications. For schools, this increases the separation between the life of the

school and the resources outside the community that could encourage and advance school success. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, in her book Worlds Apart uses another lens to understand the impact of large and bureaucratic systems on the education of poor and minority children. Families and schools have different but quite complementary functions in the education and socialization of young children. When the two groups are "worlds apart" the discontinuities between the home and the schools make it extremely difficult for the child to learn. Poor and working class families have always experienced that distance because the school is the embodiment of middle-class values and often sees its mission to separate the child from the "evil effects" of his/her family and culture. "Stay away" is the message given to families, "we know what is best for your child." The schools and their isolating practices make learning very difficult because they create barriers to the relationships and connections that are a central factor in building motivation and healthy human beings.

The recent wave of reports and reform efforts directed toward increasing excellence in the schools often recommend more classes, more requirements, and more testing to increase excellence. But,

"more" is simply more of the same system that brought us to the problems we face today. A fundamental shift in thinking about education away from the concept of schools as a sorting and tracking device to a concept of schools offering success for all children is critically needed. The current centralized and hierarchical organization needs to become more decentralized, more caring, and more connected to the families and communities it serves. Such connections are a critical element in the development of motivation and achievement for all children and should not be offered to some children and not others solely based on the accident of their birth, income, race, or residence.

This type of educational model, often described as a partnership, gives a critical new leadership role to teachers and requires the redesign of portions of their work life to increase their opportunities for contact and collaboration with each other and for shared decision making at the local school level. For example, some teachers have developed ways of working with parents to advance student learning. But their individual learning has not been incorporated into the structure of the schools. It is difficult to

explain why, in the face of so much evidence of the importance of family/school connections, (even acknowledging the many problems of implementation) so few schools reach out to include parents, especially parents of the most at risk students. Schools continue to operate within patterns created almost 100 years ago, bureaucratic patterns which separate the home and the school and which the current data indicates have not been successful with large (and increasing) numbers of students. While individual learning may have taken place, organizational learning has not.

In Organizational Learning, Chris Argyris raises the question: what makes any organization whether it is a school, or a corporation, or a public agency a learning environment?; that is, "a place capable of detection and correction of error" (Argyris, 1978). In describing organizations that "fail to learn", Argyris identifies some key characteristics:

1. they prevent members of the organization from collaborative inquiry into problems,
2. interpersonal or intergroup conflict is undiscussable,
3. information is inaccessible or obscure,
4. negative information is withheld in order to avoid conflict.

Thus, there is no way in these organizations to reflect on conflict in order to initiate a process of organizational "double-loop" learning. Instead organizational learning takes the form of ecological adjustment: each unit of the organization learns to survive and protect itself within the larger organizational connext. Such organizations "know more than they can say" (Argyris, 1978).

In contrast, Argyris describes two types of organizational learning. In single-loop learning, members of the organization respond to changes (either internal or external to the organization) by identifying errors and correcting them "so as to maintain the central features of the organizational theory-in-use"; the current paradigm . This form of learning is quite conservative as it preserves the existing theory. The norms of the organization are not challenged. The problem is that "individual learning is a necessary but insufficient condition for organizational learning". Organizational learning occurs as a process of collaborative inquiry by individual members. That collaboration continually changes the "artifact" called the organizational theory-in-use. It is incomplete until the organization incorporates that learning into its structure

and into what Argyris calls "the media of organizational memory". Single-loop learning proceeds as long as the error detection and correction process simply change organizational behaviors within a constant framework of norms for performance. But often "a process of change initiated with an eye to effectiveness under existing norms turns out to yield a conflict with the norms themselves". The process of organizational inquiry which restructures organizational norms is referred to as double-loop learning. The result is a paradigm shift in the way the organization thinks about itself and its mission.

Some organizations, especially within the business community, have come to recognize that double-loop learning needs to be a continuing process built into the organization. Thus innovative change in the organization in response to new situations becomes one of the norms and goals of the organizational theory-in-use. Private as well as public bureaucratic organizations need to find ways to encourage people to work together, solve problems, and, in general, increase productivity. In a study of 47 highly successful corporations, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (Changemasters, 1983)

concluded that "improved organizational designs and human resource practices can be a company's best innovation producing innovation" . Specifically, these companies link people in multiple ways and encourage them to creatively solve problems. Problem solving teams, representing all levels of the bureaucractic hierarchy are given tasks and resources apart from the standardized procedures of the organization. Innovative teams analyze problems, collect data in ways that ensuring that everyone in the organization has a chance to contribute and devise new solutions. The result is that a structure for problem solving and action exists outside of, but complimentary to, the existing hierarchy and job assignments patterns. These teams are able to offer new, creative thinking to the organization. The Kanter study revealed that collaborative human resource policies were not the luxury of profitable corporations but a critical cause of their productivity.

If we wish to learn more about the conditions that facilitate "double-loop" organizational learning, in this case about teacher-learning in relation to parent participation and then school-wide learning about parent involvement, we must explore the ways in which the behavioral world of the school is more or less conducive

to the kinds of collaborative inquiry required for organizational learning. For while we are "intellectually reared on a psychology of the individual" the setting or culture in which an individual operates "is often more predictive of behavior than theories of individual personality' (Sarason, 1969). Because the structure of an organization creates structures of thinking, the "existing regularities" of a system are extremely powerful.

Several recent studies have examined the effect of the school organizational climate on teachers. Some refer to the need for the empowerment of both parents and teachers (Cochran, 1987), others seek to give teachers greater voice (Belenky et al., 1986), others describe the positive effects of collaboration (Grumet, 1989), and some recommend more shared inquiry into teaching and learning (Lortie, 1975). One of the most striking findings is the sense of isolation that teachers feel: "in most schools, under most circumstances, teachers do their work alone, interacting with their students but engaging in few if any meaningful interactions with their peers. With so many people engaged in so common a mission in so compact a space and time, it is perhaps the greatest irony -- and the greatest tragedy of teaching --- that so much is carried on in

self-imposed and professionally sanctioned isolation" (Lieberman, 1984).

Studies of teachers in large urban systems emphasize this isolation as well as the powerful impact of negative working conditions on motivation. Working In Urban Schools recently published by the Institute for Education Leadership (Corcoran, 1988) documents the many conditions that depress both the morale and effectiveness of teachers and makes the case for a "fundamental change in the role, status and working conditions of classroom teachers"..

> "The data support the hypothesis that working conditions affect teacher attitudes and behavior, particularly their level of effort, attendance, sense of efficacy in the classroom, morale, and job satisfaction.The data also suggest that that some dimensions of working conditions have more effect that others on teachers. If a school has good physical working conditions, high levels of teacher influence, good leadership, and high levels of collegiality, other deficiencies, while important, may not have serious negative effects on the staff."

In the section of the IEL study that dealt with teacher participation in planning and decision making in the schools, results indicated that a generally low level of teacher influence over school

policies exists. Where there is participation, the data reveals how vulnerable participatory structures are to manipulation and neglect by school administrators, or to weak policy implementation by district officials. (Corcoran, 1988). Lack of time was cited as the major reason for poor communication and as a major obstacle to cooperation with other school staff. Genuine participation is more likely if time is alloted during the workday, it cannot depend upon volunteer time in the long run (Corcoran, 1988) The study also showed links between levels of teacher influence and collegiality. Schools rated low in teacher influence demonstrated low collegiality. Teachers reported feeling isolated and divided often along racial or ethnic lines. In contrast, schools rated high on collegiality and sharing also rated high on influence over decision making.

Several authors argue that building norms of collegiality and collaboration are the critical element in school reform. "Given the problems associated with past efforts at educational reform that have not focused on interaction among teachers at the school site, a strong case can be made that the fostering of collaborative norms within the school well deserves attention by reformers.". (Scott-

Jones and Epstein, 1988) Schools where there are cooperative norms among teachers are also characterized by cooperation among students and a greater degree of racial harmony. (Begermeyer, 1982) In a study of 78 schools characterized by either isolated or collaborative norms, Rosenholtz found that in collaborative schools there was more joint planning rather than isolated work, more experimentation and willingness to try new ideas, and when faced with particularly difficult problem with a student, teachers in collaborative settings more often sought help from parents, other teachers, and other community resources. In isolated settings, "students are seen as the source of the problem" and in collaborative settings a student is perceived "as having a problems and the teacher works to identify its source". (Rosenholtz, 1985) Without collaboration, no teacher can benefit from others.

Isolation contributes to resistance to educational change. Apprehension is reasonable when a teacher faces the prospect of implementing changes alone. Little (1982) describes the effect on school behavior when collaborative norms exist: "teachers engage in frequent, continuous and increasingly concrete and precise talk about teaching practice, teachers plan, design, prepare and evaluate

teaching materials together; they teach each other the practice of teaching." Purkey and Smith in their 1983 review of the characteristics of effective schools point to collaborative planning and collegial relationships among the critical elements of quality schooling. And in a penetrating analysis of why increased regulation will fail as a school reform strategy, John Chubb shows that a critical element in school achievement is the autonomy of the individual school and the collegial relationships among the staff. (Chubb, 1988).

Modifying school structures to encourage these norms starts with a leadership committed to genuine participation and staff empowerment. That means providing such things as structured opportunities for grade level and schoolwide planning, faculty collaboration on agendas for meetings, small problem solving teams to study a problem and report from the faculty perspective, linkages with outside funding sources for flexibility and experiementation in program, and a continuous dialogue and communication with teachers. This requires specific, administratively-supported efforts toward collaboration, both between and among small groups of

teachers (problem solving teams) and schoolwide councils to facilitate group decision-making. Both efforts create opportunities for schools to become environments of inquiry and learning both for the adults who work there and the children who come there to learn.

In the Schools Reaching Out project, both the laboratory schools have created School Wide Planning Councils with teacher representatives from different grade levels, specialty teachers, parents, paraprofessionals and the community. Each planning committee will establish schoolwide priorities and approve program efforts to achieve those goals. In addition, the planning committees have discretion over the expenditure of SRO funds at the school. Each committee will be further divided into working subcommittees organized around a particular problem or theme. Their efforts will be focused and action oriented to balance against the more long-term considerations of the overall committees. In addition the project has provided funds for Teacher Mini-Grants. Individual or groups of teachers can design a particular project to involve parents in their classroom activities and will receive funding from the grant program for the materials required for the project. During the second year of the project, there will be a speakers program in each

school. The goal of the program is to develop a "climate of inquiry and reflection" within the school so that examination and reflection of fundamental practice can proceed in a non-threatening, collegial environment. Speakers on many subjects related to school achievement and school reform will come to the school and spend time with those teachers who demonstrate interest. Study seminars for teachers and parents will bring the two groups together in a relaxed setting to discuss the readings provided and the issues each group choses. Finally, the teacher research teams will provide a small forum for the discussion of school concerns and practices. Recommendations for programmatic change may well emerge from those groups.

Is there time to do all this? The project is funded for only two years. Schools like other institutions, and most people, change slowly. To call the school's attention to practices and issues to which they had not previously attended is an ambitious undertaking. To establish models of reflective, collaborative practice within a bureaucratic structure is extremely difficult and requires substantial administrative support. In a speech to school administrators this fall, one of the Hispanic parents working in the

project explained that it was not so much that everyone in her daughter's school needed to speak Spanish, but rather that when she entered the school there was a welcoming attitude. That, she said, she could feel as soon as she entered the building. As desirable as it might seem, it may not be necessary for everyone in the school to accept and support a new vision for responsibility of a children's nurture and education. Administrative support, some teachers trying new practice and sharing their results, some parents actively involved and actively recruiting more and the beginning of a joint planning effort would reflect real change. More than "has anything happened in two years?", the question facing the Schools Reaching Out effort is how, in such a limited time, to establish the internal structures supportive of continuing change in the schools after the project itself has ended.

REFERENCES

Argyris, Chris. Organizational Learning, A Theory of Action Perspective. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Reading, MA 1978.

Auerbach, Elsa Roberts. "Toward a Social Contextual Approach to Family Literacy." Harvard Educational Review 59, no.3 (May 1989).

Barth, Richard. "Home Based Reinforcement of School Behavior: A Review and Analysis" Review of Educational Research 59, no. 3 (Summer 1979).

Becher, Rhoda McShane. "Parent Involvement: A Review of Research and Principles of Successful Practices." Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1984.

Becker, H.J. and Joyce L. Epstein. "Influences on Teachers' Use of Parental Involvement." Johns Hopkins University Report 324 (1982).

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger,& Tarule. Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1986.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. The Ecology of Human Development : Experiment by Nature and Design. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Chubb, John E. "Why the Current Wave of School Reform Will Fail" Public Interest 90 (Winter 1988).

Clark, Reginald. Family Life and School Achievement: Why Poor Black Children Succeed or Fail. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Cochran, Moncrieff. "Parental Empowerment Process: Builing on Family Strengths" Equity and Choice. 4, no. 1 (Fall 1987).

Coleman, James. Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Comer, James P. School Power. New York: The Free Press, 1980.

Corcoran, Thomas. Working in Urban Schools Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1988.

Davies, Don. "Benefits and Barriers to Parent Involvement" Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1988.

Davies, Don. "Low Income Parents and the Schools: A Research Report and a Plan for Action" Equity and Choice .(Spring 1988).

Davies, Don. "Parent Involvement in the Public Schools: Opportunity for Administrators." Education and Urban Society 19, no.2 (February 1987).

Delone, Richard. Small Futures: Children, Inequality, and the Limits of Liberal Reform. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.

Dornbush, Sanford. "Parents of High School Students: A Neglected Resource". Educational Horizons (Winter 1988).

Epstein, Joyce L., and Susan L. Dauber. "Teacher Attitudes and Practices of Parent Involvement in Inner City Elementary and Middle Schools." Report prepared for the American Sociological Association meeting. Atlanta: August 1988.

Epstein, Joyce L. "Effects on Parents of Teacher Practices of Parent Involvement." Johns Hopkins University Report 346 (October 1983).

Epstein, Joyce L. & Jay Becker. "A Survey of Teacher Practices." Elementary School Journal 83, no. 3 (November 1982).

Goodlad, J. I. A Place Called School New York: McGraw Hill, 1983.

Gordon, Ira. "What Does Research Say About the Effects of Parent Involvement on Schooling?" ASCD, 1978.

Grumet, Madeline. "Dinner At Abigail's: Nurturing Collaboration. National Educational Association Focus, January 1989.

Hamilton, Mary Agnes, and Moncrieff Cochran. Parents, Teachers, and the Community: Building Partnerships for the Child. Department of Human Development and Family Studies, New York State College of Human Ecology. Cornell University, November 1988.

Henderson, Anne. The Evidence Grows. Columbia, MD: National Committee for Citizens in Education, 1981.

Henderson, Anne. The Evidence Continues to Grow: Parent Involvement Improved Student Acievement. Columbia, MD: National Committee for Citizens in Education, 1987.

Jackson, Barbara, Don Davies, Bruce Cooper, and Jennifer Page. Parents Make A Difference: An Evaluation of New York City's 1987-88 Parent Involvement Program. New York and Boston: Fordham University and the Institute for Responsive Education, 1988.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. Changemasters. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983.

Katz, Michael. Race, Class, and Bureaucracy in American Schools. New York: Praeger Press, 1971.

Lareau, Annette. "Social Class Differences in Family School Relationahips: The Importance of Cultural Capital". Presentation to the American Educational Research Association, April 1985.

Lieberman, Ann, and Lynne Miller. School Improvement Themes and Variations. 1984.

Lightfoot, Sara Lawrence. "On Goodness in Schools: Themes of Empowerment" Peabody Journal of Education. 63, no. 3 (Spring 1986).

Lightfoot, Sara Lawrence. Worlds Apart Basic Books, Inc. New York, 1978.

Little, Judith. "Seductive Images and Organizational Realities in Professional Development." Rethinking School Improvement (see Liebeiman, Ann.) 1982.

Lortie, Dan. Schoolteacher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

McAfee, Oralie. "Improving Home School Relations: Implications for Staff Development" Education and Urban Society 19, no. 2 (February 1987).

Noddings, Nel. "An Ethic of Care and Its Implications for Instructional Arrangements". American Journal of Education (February 1988).

Noddings, Nel. "Schools Face a Crises in Caring" Education Week (December 17, 1988).

Noddings, Nel. "Fidelity in Teaching, Teacher Education and Research for Teaching" Harvard Educational Review 56, no.4 1986.

Oakes, Jeannie. Keeping Track: How Our Schools Structure Inequality. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Olmsted, Patricia, and Roberta Rubin. "Linking Parent Behaviors to Child Achievement: Four Evaluation Studies". Studies in Educational Evaluation 8. (1982).

Sarason, Seymour. The Culture of School and the Problem of Change. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969.

Sattes, Beth. Parent Involvement A Review of the Literature. Appalachia Educational Laboratory, 1985.

Scott-Jones, Diane, and Joyce L. Epstein. "School-Family-Community Connections for Accelerated Student Progress in Elementary and Middle Grades." Draft, 1988.

Seeley, David. Education Through Parthership. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1985.

Sizer, T.R. "High School Reform" Phi Delta Kappan (1983) 679-683.

Tizard, J., Schofield, & Hewison. "Collaboration Between Teachers and Parents in Assisting Children's Reading." British Journal of Educational Psychology 52 (1982).

Walberg, H.J., Bole, and Waxman. "School-Based Family Socialization and Reading Achievement in the Inner City." Psychology in the Schools 17 (1980).

Whyte, William Foote. Learning From the Field: A Guide from Experience. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc. 1981.

Williams, David Jr., and Nancy Chavkin. Guidelines and Strategies to Train Teachers for Parent Involvement. Austin: Southwestern Educational Development Laboratory, 1985.

Williams, David Jr. and John T. Stallworth. Survey of Educators Regarding Parent Involvement in Education: Implications for Teacher Training. Austin: Southwestern Educational Development Laboratory, 1982.

OTHER READINGS

Ascher, Carol. "Improving the Home-School Connection for Poor and Minority Urban Students" ERIC/CUE Trends and Issues, no. 8 (December 1987).

Bastian, Ann et. al. Choosing Equality. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Boyer, Ernest L. High School New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1983.

Brantlinger, Ellen. "What Low-Income Parents Want From the Schools: A Different View of Aspirations." Interchange 16, no. 4 (1985).

Bronfenbrenner, Urie and Heather Weiss. "Beyond Policies Without People: An Ecological Perspective on Child and Family Policy." Children, Families, and Government: Perspectives on Amerian Social Policy. Edited by S. Kagan, E. Klugman, and E. Zigler. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Brown, L. David."Ideology and Political Economy in Inquiry: Action Research and Participatory Research." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science. 19, no. 3 (1983).

Brown, L. David. "Participatory Research and Community Planning." Boston University: Institute for Developmental Research, draft, August 1984.

Chavkin, Nancy F. and David L. Williams, Jr. "Critical Issues for Teacher Training for Parent Involvement." Educational Horizons. (Winter 1988).

Cochran, Moncrieff. Empowering Families Ithaca, NY: Family Matters Project at Cornell University, 1988.

Coleman, James. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966.

Comer, James. "Education Poor Minority Children." Scientific American 259, no. 5 (November 1988).

Comer, James. "Home/School Relationships as They Affect the Academic Success of Children" Education and Urban Society 16, no. 3 (May 1984).

Comer, James P. "Is Parenting Essential for Good Teaching?" National Education Association Focus (January 1988).

Comer, James P. "Parent Participation in the Schools." Phi Delta Kappan (February 1986).

Chrispeels, Janet. "Family as an Educational Resource." Community Education Journal (April 1987).

Davies, Don. Poor Parents, Teachers, and the Schools: Comments About Practice, Policy, and Research. Paper prepared for the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting. March 1989.

Epstein, Joyce L. "Home and School Connections." Peabody Journal of Education 62, no. 2 (Winter 1985).

Epstein, Joyce L. " Parent Involvement: State Education Agencies Should Lead the Way." Community Education Journal (July 1987).

Epstein, Joyce L. "Parent Involvement: What the Research Says to Administrators" Education and Urban Society 19, no. 2 (February 1987).

Epstein, Joyce L. "Single Parents and the Schools." Johns Hopkins University Report no. 353, Center for the Social Organization of Schools, (March 1984).

Freedman, Sara, Jane Jackson, and Katherine Boles. "The Other End of the Corridor: The Effects of Teaching on Teachers." Radical Teacher, no. 23, Boston Women Teachers Group (1987).

Friere, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Continuum, New York: Continuum, 1981.

Fruchter, Norman. "Public Policy and Public Schools." Urban Education 20, no. 2 (July 1985).

Gandara, Patricia. "Those Children Are Our Children." NEA Focus (1989).

Gay, L. R. Educational Research. Columbus, OH: Merrill Publishing Co., 1987.

Gilligan, Carol. In A Different Voice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Glaser, Barney and Anselm L. Strauss. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1967.

Glazer, Nathan, John Chubb, and Seymour Fliegel. "Making Better Schools." Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. Report 5, (1988).

Gutman, Amy. Democractic Education. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Hogan, Suellen. A Study of Parents at an Urban Elementary School. Ed.D. proposal, Boston University, 1989.

Jackson, Barbara L. and Bruce S. Cooper. "Parent Choice and Empowerment: Implications for the Way We Train Administrators." Paper presented to the University Council for Educational Administrators. October 1988.

Leitch & Tangri. "Barriers to Home School Connection" Educational Horizons 66, no. 2 (Winter 1988).

Levin, Henry. "Reclaiming Urban Schools: A Modest Proposal." Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, Winter, 1983.

Lightfoot, Sara Lawrence. "Portraiture in Social Science." Class Lecture at Harvard Graduate School of Education, Spring 1989.

Macrorie, Ken. 20 Teachers. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Madden, Nancy and Robert Slavin. "Success for All: Effects of Student Achievement, Retentions, and Special Education Referrals." Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools, Johns Hopkins University; draft, November 1988.

McCall, George, ed. Issues in Participant Observation. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

McGregor, Douglas. "The Human Side of Enterprise." Leadership and Motivation. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966.

McLaughlin, Milbrey and Patrick Shields. "Involving Low-Income Parents in the Schools." Phi Delta Kappan 69, no. 2 (October 1987).

Miller, Jean Baker. Toward a New Psychology of Women Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.

Moles, Oliver. "Who Wants Parent Involement?" Education and Urban Society 19, no. 2 (February, 1987).

Nassaw, David. Schooled to Order: A History of Public Schooling in the U.S. New York: Oxford Universtiy Press, 1979.

Palmer, Parker and Elden Jacobsen. Action Research: A New Style of Politics in Education. Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1974.

Peters, Thomas J. &Robert Waterman, Jr. In Search of Excellence. New York: Harper and Row , 1982.

Powell, Douglas R. "Parent Education and Support Programs." Young Children (March 1986).

Rapoport, Robert, ed. Children, Youth, and Families: The Action Research Relationship. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Ravitch, Diane. The Schools We Deserve. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1985.

Roper, Susan Stavert and David E. Hoffman. Collegial Support for Professional Improvement: The Stanford Collegial Evaluation Program 29, no. 7, Oregon School Study Council (March 1986).

Schon, Donald. Beyond the Stable State. New York: Random House, 1971.

Schon, Donald. Educating the Reflective Practitioner. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987.

Scott, James J. The Social and Organizational Context of Teaching. ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management. University of Oregon, July 1987.

Scott, James J. and Stuart C. Smith. From Isolation to Collaboration: Improving the Work Environment of Teaching. ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management. University of Oregon, 1987.

Seeley, David. " Six Characteristics of New Schools." Youth Policy (February,1989).

Spady, William. "The Emerging Paradigm of Organizational Excellence: Success Trough Planned Adaptability". Peabody Journal of Education 63, no. 3 (Spring 1986).

Toomey, Derek. Home School Relations and Inequity in Education. Melbourne, Australia: La Trobe University, February 1986.

Tyack, David B. The One Best System Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Warner, Sylvia Ashton. Teacher. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.

Weaver, W. Timothy. The Contest for Educational Resources: Equity and Reform in a Meritocratic Society. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982.

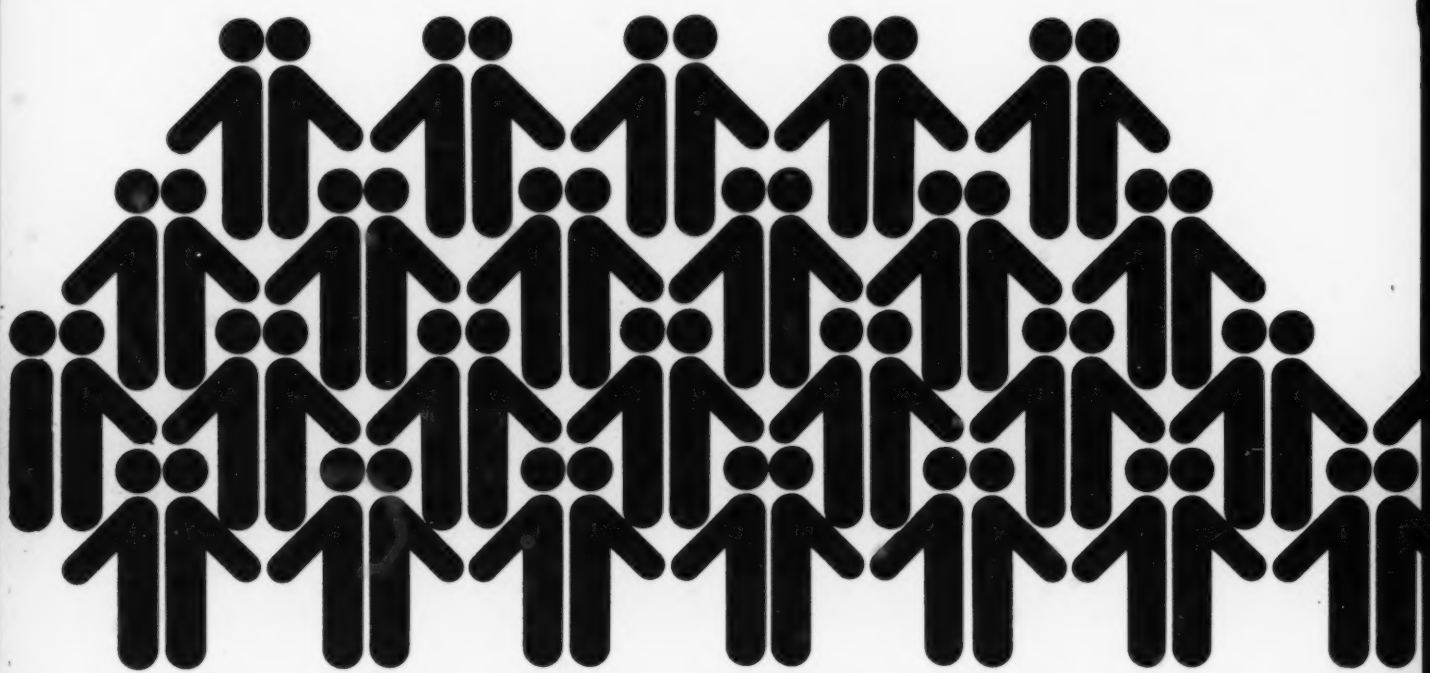
Weintraub, Robert. An Ethnographic Study of a K-8 Magnet School in Lowell, Massachusetts. Ed.D. Dissertation, Boston University, April 1985.

Weiss, Heather. "Family Support and Education in Early Childhood Programs." Family Support Programs: State of the Art. Edited by S.L. Kagan, D. Powell, B. Weissbourd, and E. Zigler, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Wilson, William Julius. The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987.

Zigler, Edward and Heather Weiss. "Family Support Systems: An Ecological Approach to Child Development" Children, Youth, and Families: The Action-Research Relationship. Edited by R. Rapoport. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

_____"Today's Numbers, Tomorrow's Nation." Education Week (May 14, 1986).



Institute for Responsive Education
605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215